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COMPULSORY UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING.

THE best argument for the permanent establishment of compulsory universal training is a brief consideration of the effect of its omission upon the military establishment, the morale of youth and the public and private treasury. Another argument is the simple, practical manner in which it can be applied to the present status without amendment of the National organic law or a departure from the Founders' scheme of government. We shall endeavor to show that it is not necessary to become seekers after novelty in order to establish both universal training and service.

Inasmuch as compulsory universal *service* for a period in the State National Guard will presently be advocated as an agency for the practical application of the proposed Federal training, as well as a means for imparting knowledge so acquired to older men until, in the course of years, the entire citizenship shall have received Federal training, it will serve a useful purpose to be mindful of the distinction between *training* and *service* as used in these remarks.

THE PROPOSED PROGRAM.

The thought is that there shall be undergone by every youth, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one years, an exclusive and intense military training, in some arm of the Federal service or at a designated military school. This, to be followed at a convenient season, by three years of service in a National Guard organization, such service to be completed before reaching the age of twenty-nine years. The optional time is intended to permit students, proposing to follow professional careers, to make their university degrees without interruption by military duties. It serves another purpose. Membership in the Guard would be entered upon by the individual immediately upon permanent location for his life's work and could readily be completed before the age of twenty-nine. This would prove a help instead of a hindrance, since it would tend

to widen the young man's acquaintance in all masculine, social and business circles and also promote health, through the continuance of physical exercise. He would, of course, remain registered and subject to call to the Colors with his particular Federal training class, without reference to the time or place of his Guard service, which would be optional, and he might be conveniently transferred from one unit to another. The citizen will have undergone his technical training and performed his tour of service with the actual loss of but one year from civil life and with a negligible outlay of public funds.

ITS ECONOMIC ADVANTAGES.

Thus, would practical application follow education, at a minimum economic cost and inconvenience, for it would be at a suitable time in the life of the youth and the man, and in a convenient manner for his avocation. Thus, would there be preserved in a highly practical manner, the Constitutional dual relation pronounced necessary by the Founders of the Government and, thus, there would be afforded the opportunity of training demanded by the Regular Army. These are important elements in American life and law, as will now be shown.

ITS PSYCHOLOGICAL ADVANTAGES.

It will serve a useful purpose to repeat a statement made on another occasion. Those persons close to the hearts of the American people and so placed as to observe the workings of the National spirit, will testify to a veneration, that has become a fetish, for the Constitutional division of power and duty between the regular and volunteer armies, and between the Federal and State governments. It is as much a part of the American's life as his religion, his politics and his family ties. It may be laid down as a premise, that inherited hostility to a large standing army is an individual instinct and not a political creed and that any man or group of men, undertaking to stem that tide of human emotion, will be swept into political oblivion. No program grounded upon it could, therefore, succeed or prevent sustained assaults and lack of sympathy and confidence. For these two reasons the inevitable

must be accepted by observant military law-makers in spirit and in deed before there can be obtained a proper return in efficiency from the Government's expenditures upon its military establishment, however liberal its future policy may become. And for these reasons it is spoken as a prophecy, not to be haughtily disregarded by thoughtful men, that the usefulness, efficiency and contentment of both the regular Army and the Citizen Army depend upon mutual successful cooperation and respect. Compulsory universal Federal training and subsequent service in the National Guard, under the continued direction of Army officers, connote that status.

SOME ELEMENTS OF ITS HEALTHY OPERATION.

These things are entirely possible and practical under the influence of an organized National program with uniform State military statutes, regulations, courts and procedure therein, prepared by a mixed, uncompensated National Commission—to be presently discussed—and *all interpreted and enforced under the immediate direction of Regular Army officers*. There should be Federal and State appropriations sufficient to meet the necessary expense incident to the service, but there should be no compensation for peace service. These contributions for expense are suggested because patriotism may go a long way in inspiring service in the rank and file, and all the way in event of actual hostilities but, like mercy as an element in justice, it may be strained beyond the point of usefulness and may even become an inspiration for insubordination. Personal military expense must not fall too heavily upon the individual. It is enough to demand his time without pay. Monotony grows apace in peace service and discipline is not the boon companion of any gratuitous effort uninspired by love or patriotism. The soldierly spirit, and even patriotism, oftentimes weakens or is sorely strained. Compulsory universal Federal training and subsequent National Guard service will greatly ameliorate this potent evil that has been the evil genius of the National Guard, but we shall endeavor also to show that the service must be dignified, if not made a badge of honor.

LEST WE FORGET.

The sacred Virginia Bill of Rights (§ 15) warns "that no free government, or the blessing of liberty can be preserved to any people, but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality and virtue and by a frequent recurrence to *fundamental principles*." One of the principles, to which we may now with profit recur, is (§ 13) "that a well regulated militia, *composed of the body of the people, trained to arms*, is the proper, natural and safe defense of a free state; that standing armies, in time of peace, should be avoided, as dangerous to liberty; and that in all cases, the military should be under strict subordination to, and governed by the civil power."

The Byzantine Empire lived from about 716 A. D. to about 1204 A. D. George Finlay (Everyman's ed.) in his history of that wonderful Government said, (p. 29) "as much caution was displayed in the Byzantine Empire *to prevent the army from endangering the government by its seditions, as to render it formidable to the enemy by its strength*." Again, (p. 28, 29) he said that, "Leo's (Leo III The Isaurian, who defeated the Mohammedans when they enjoyed their greatest military prowess and took and held Constantinople) great merit was, that without any violent political change he infused new energy into the Byzantine military establishment, and organized a force that for four centuries defended the empire without acquiring the power of domineering in the State."

The manner in which this was done was not unlike the State National Guard system of America. Said Mr. Finlay (p. 29), "This was done by dividing the provinces into themes, (sic. States) appointing a general of division for each theme and grouping together in different stations the various corps of conscripts, subject nations and hired mercenaries." In America the Citizen soldiers are divided into state units.

"COMPOSED OF THE BODY OF THE PEOPLE."

The American Founders might have had in mind the weak point, stressed by Mr. Finlay, of both the Roman and Byzantine Empires when these words were written. Said he (p. 28):

"Whatever modifications Leo made on the military system, and however great were the reforms he effected in the organization of the army and the discipline of the troops, the mass of the population continued in the Byzantine Empire to be excluded from the use of arms, as they had been in the Roman times; and this circumstance was the cause of that unwarlike disposition, which is made a standing reproach from the days of the Goths to those of the Crusaders. The state of society engendered by this policy opened the Western Empire to the northern nations, and the empire of Charlemagne to the Normans."

WHEN THE PEOPLE ARE NOT TRAINED TO ARMS.

Mr. Finlay repeats an anecdote of the time of Theodosius II (A. D. 448), "as giving a correct idea of the condition of the Greek population of the Eastern Empire. There was found a Greek who was living among the Huns. He contrasted his past condition, as a citizen under the Roman emperors, with his present position as a freeman under Attila. The Roman citizen, he said, was compelled to trust for defense to the arms of others, because the Roman despotism prohibited the use of arms to the citizen. In the time of war, consequently, he was a prey either to the enemy or to the mercenary troops of the emperor, while in the time of peace his life was rendered intolerable by fiscal oppression and official injustice." We may be a century coming to this in America, if the principles of the Bill of Rights be abandoned, but we are as human and possibly no wiser than the peoples who made possible the "Lone mother of dead empires" and "The glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome." In any event it is well not to encourage so dangerous a conceit.

ITS APPLICATION TO THE NATIONAL GUARD.

It will be interesting at this juncture to indulge in a brief analysis of the present organization and study its psychology. We venture to say from close observation and study that a natural love for military affairs, or the fascination of the glamour of military pomp and ceremony or, else, pure patriotism, have been the sole elements cohering the National Guard in the past

years. Whatever it may have been there has been preserved all these years, in the National Guard, the ember of the Constitutional Citizen Army. It is inspiring to think that this sacred thing has been accomplished without reward or recognition and in spite of ridicule and neglect. This fact will command the admiration and gratitude of future generations who will have had opportunity to observe the achievement of Federal compulsory training in conjunction with the antidote of the subsequent National Guard compulsory service.

Therein will be perpetuated the spirit of the Federal Constitution and the ideal of a highly trained citizen soldiery. Are not the elements present to solve a vexing issue, if unselfishly applied? The professional elements of the regular Army will have had its opportunity to train the citizen; the latter will have returned to take his necessary place in productive civil life and, without interruption thereof, will continue to serve in what will obviously become a highly efficient corps of disciplined soldiers, ready overnight for any service.

THE NECESSARY ELEMENTS.

To accomplish these things, as has been said, there must be established and sustained uniform State military laws, regulations, courts and procedure therein; there must be established conditions and an atmosphere at Washington, and in all the States, conducive to the growth of the spirit of the soldier free from the taint of militarism, the interference of politics and of personal ambition. The men must be under the conviction that the sacrifice each citizen is required to undergo is a necessary service in the land defense of the country; and that they are an integral part of the profound National program of a sustained preparedness.

This, as nothing else can do it, will lend the necessary dignity and inspire the desire to prepare and to serve. It will justify a strict enforcement of discipline; it will bring all elements of society into a closer relation, understanding and appreciation and it will do away with a manifest feeling of resentment at the failure of others to perform their share of the burden. *None but incompetents will be excused.* Fitness for military service

will, manifestly, distinguish mental and physical competency and, thereby, become an eagerly sought badge of honor.

A NATIONAL COMMISSION PROPOSED—ITS OBJECTS DEFINED.

To this end there should be created an official National Commission which would serve as a source of highly trained intelligence and an arbitrator in all disputes and conflicts, State or National. It should be composed of Army and Guard officers, serving without pay, meeting bi-monthly, and its personnel and conduct should be acceptable to both the National Guard and the Federal Army and meet with the approval of the Secretary of War if not designated by him. No legislation should be enacted, Federal or State, not initiated or endorsed by this Commission, in the preparation and perpetuation of a complete National military program on a peace footing. It is hardly necessary to remark that no reference in these comments is intended to apply to war measures. If there has been no past sisterhood amongst the States concerning military affairs, one reason may be that there has not been enough voluntary brotherhood on the part of the Regular Officer and the National Guardsman. The one unconsciously approached with a feeling of contempt and the other retreated in indignation. That is a harmful relation between teacher and pupil.

Concert of action and purpose, uniformity of ideals and a proper faith in and respect for the citizen soldier will inspire a wholesome response, a magnanimous surrender of local customs, a sinking of personal prejudices and a whole-souled spirit of service, that will command the veneration and respect of all thinking men, and of the legislature of every State in America as well as the National Congress. The pessimist who believes otherwise is simply too obtuse or too obstinate to measure the patriotism of the average American in matters concerning the public defense, and misinterprets intelligent resentment for indifference. The winning of the citizen soldier offers the surest prospect of American preparedness, for her wars must be largely fought by them, by whosoever led. The present war has again demonstrated that fact and, incidentally, the expense and awkwardness of a "hot house" cantonment preparation in-

stead of a gradual, practical, normal, military education, as is now proposed.

MILITARY LAW DISTINGUISHED.

It will be helpful in this connection to observe briefly the spirit and genius of military law. Being executive agencies and belonging to the executive department of the government, military laws are necessarily defined, directly or indirectly, by statute. They have no place in the judicial branch of government and, therefore, are not affected by the Third Article of the Federal Constitution, or by the several provisions in the State constitutions relating to the judicial branch of the respective State governments. It is much to be doubted if discretionary acts, performed in pursuance of military law, are justifiable. Military offenses are triable without jury.

These distinctions between military and civil law and establishments present incomparable advantages and wipe away many obstacles that might be invoked to interfere with the consummation of the program we have ventured to outline. Some civil courts have failed to draw this distinction and have endeavored to protect or to try men guilty of military offenses. Some able military officers have based a violent prejudice against all civil courts and against the Constitution itself, upon these unfortunate isolated cases. It must be remembered that however elastic the Constitution may become in times of war, it reverts to normal when the tension is removed by peace. The trouble lies with the individual judge, not the Constitution or the law. Without the Constitution the country would hardly be worth saving, for that is what has made it what it is.

LEGISLATIVE OBSTACLES TO BE OVERCOME.

We, therefore, conclude that it is merely a question of Federal and State statutes and the fewer the better. Inasmuch as the program is grounded upon *conformity* and *uniformity* it correlates uniform Federal and State legislation, which connotes an intelligent, frank, patient, well organized campaign of popular education. One must be mindful that there are honest, conscientious reactionaries in all legislative bodies to be con-

tended with who should not be condemned. They should be pitied. They have rusted from long political inaction and repose and are in need of the lubricant of political anxiety. They have been living in a cloistered conceit predicted by the Virginia Bill of Rights. They need "to be returned to the people from whom they came." They can be influenced only by a mandatory expression of sentiment from the vast unvocal masses who elevated them to a representative capacity. These intelligent masses must be made vocal with knowledge of the military establishment and its history.

DISCIPLINE AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP INSEPARABLE.

But, let not the detailed machinery of universal compulsory training overshadow its benefits to the youth who are to become the men of the land. "Lack of discipline," said Napoleon, "is worse than disease—even worse than bullets." "Make your educational laws strict," said Ruskin, "and your criminal ones will be gentle; but leave youth its liberty and you will have to dig dungeons for age." The average youth is now largely being taught in the schools by young women and disciplined, if at all, by indulgent mothers. The lack of discipline and self-control is eating away the heart and self-restraint, bequeathed to Americans by the Pioneers, that should be cherished and nourished as a more sacred trust than the great Country they developed or the profound Government they established. *How long would either last without disciplined men to defend them?* A man is no more than the spirit within him. Flesh and muscle cannot make men out of cowards, criminals and the indolent. The highest encomium ever paid the historic Virginia Military Institute is that "it makes men." The strictness of its discipline has driven irredeemable weaklings back to the cover of a mother's apron and continued self indulgence, but it has so trained thousands of others in their youth that, as men, they have become the defenders of liberty, the enemies of license and the advocates of the Christian religion.

A certain laxness in mental and spiritual discipline, too obvious to be longer disputed and as evident in the home as in the street, is destroying the vital characteristics of the American

spirit and the spontaneous tendency to obedience and respect for authority. Young men need to be taught the old fashioned religion that the "soldierly spirit" is the desire to "serve" and the word "obey" is the supremest and most beautiful in the language. Discipline must retain its ascendancy either by voluntary submission or by duress. There is a matter of neglected training and education with which to deal. There are men who do not understand its elemental purposes, who imagine shame instead of feeling pride in executing military orders and in obeying parents or others in authority. Such as these mistake insubordination for protection of self-respect. Since their whole nature, the result of neglected or misguided training, cannot be changed their conduct must be regulated by an unflinching discipline wholly within the control of trained and patriotic officers who, themselves, have graduated from the school of knowledge and experience. It must become so that men will see with the eyes of George Wharton Pepper, "that military instruction and discipline, when properly administered, is an important factor in the preparation not for war but in the preparation of the loyal citizen." It is a double preparedness that we advocate—for defense against both outside and inside enemies.

SELECTIVE UNIVERSAL COMPULSORY SERVICE.

This article would not be complete without a reference to the present military machinery that untoward circumstances forced into existence, for it is the work of a genius. There has been much popular misunderstanding of compulsory service. The word "universal" is all embracing. If every able-bodied man came forward there would be an army of approximately twenty million soldiers, a figure quite out of all reason. There would be no one left at home for local police and the manufacture of arms and munitions or to conduct industry and produce food, matters of equal importance with occupying a trench at the front. The mention of one item will suffice. The expenditure of munitions is as much in a day as it formerly was in a year. Now, there are men suited to some one of these endeavors and unsuited to all others. Ofttimes one is not conscious of his peculiar qualifications and disqualifications and such a person re-

tards by volunteering. There are earnest preachers that should have been farmers, and vice versa. Such tragedies may be condoned in peace but they would cost lives and spell defeat in war. Again, there ought to be compatibility in the ranks. It is manifest that the vigor of youth has no proper place in training or service alongside the decadence of age. The corollary to these propositions is that there must be authority to make suitable classifications with reference to all these elements. This is the meaning of "selective service." Inasmuch as every citizen is a potential soldier ready to go where and when called, everyone stands "self conscripted" if he choose so to designate his selection, when his class is called out. Compulsion is the only element of "conscription" present and this applies only to the man who needs it and whose conduct made it necessary. "Conscription" imports force working upon a contrary will; "selection" means invitation affording an opportunity already expressly or implicitly sought. And, so, both selective universal compulsory training and service, as measured by the words of Thomas Jefferson in his letter to John W. Eppes in 1814, is one of the most democratic propositions yet offered. Its conception and execution by Provost Marshal General Enoch H. Crowder and his army of civilian assistants will crown him as one of the greatest military executives that this war has brought to light.

THE HUMAN VIEWPOINT.

From these observations, one draws the manifest conclusion that America will never again be caught unprepared, under the vain delusion of protection through treaties or isolation. Huns and Vandals do not observe treaties and American trade routes now belt the earth and reach from pole to pole. And we must go on. Decent conduct is no protection against Prussian thirst for world domination. Belgium is a living example and there are a few more in the making amongst the Southern Russian states and Roumania. It is an adage that good men need no laws and bad men break them. Fear is the only preventative against such moral perverts. Preparedness is essential so long as any Huns and Vandals shall inhabit the earth. Germany is now fighting almost the whole world because she thought she could

whip the whole world. The Kaiser boasted of his might. Had England and America been as well prepared as France, millions of lives and treasure would have been preserved. It is not believed that there would have been a war, since it is purely a war of conquest by the Prussian Military princes. There will always be the likelihood of enough corrupt ambition and artillery combined to start a war against an unprepared nation.

THE POLITICAL VIEWPOINT.

What is going to happen to future American preparedness? Nothing will happen except what Congress chooses to legislate. Someone has said that a statesman is a dead politician, but the average legislator is a pretty live politician. His chief and very wise occupation is "keeping his ear close to the ground," lest he "be returned to the people from whence he came." Inasmuch as this conduct is in strict conformity with the precepts of the sacred Bill of Rights, they should be praised, not condemned. This spirit perpetuates democracy in America and makes possible improvement and advancement in government. Without it Congress would fossilize. Students of the plan of government feel obliged to believe that the Founders were deep students of human nature or they were inspired, so well did they prepare against political weaknesses.

WHAT WILL THE MESSAGE BE?

What message, then, will Congress receive from home and how urgent will it be? It will be in accordance with the understanding of the people; that will be measured by their limitations and their limitations will be fixed by the interest taken in preparedness by alert, public spirited men possessing a knowledge of the subject and the faith of the people. Earnest men have been hopelessly pushing this propaganda for years. It required a world's war, with the ruthless murder of unoffending citizens, to wake up America. Is there logic or reason for allowing the Nation to drop back into the insecurity of slumber before it is prepared for a sustained self-defense, entirely aside from the healthy, manly vigor and discipline of its young men? Particularly is this thought pertinent and material in the

light of the new vision of a world's commerce for which new bottoms are being built.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL MOMENT.

There never will be a time like the present. Men are contemplating the costly rush of cantonment construction and the extraordinary tax bills, cheerfully paid, but which might have been strung over two decades of years. They listen impatiently to squabbles over the Air Service program and the selection of rapid-fire guns. They feel a loss of prestige in borrowing guns from France. And they heard with disappointment the rumors of an inadequate staff personnel in some instances at the beginning of the war. Amongst excuses, calumnation and suspicions, they have one sure and solemn thought, viz.: the country would have been better off in every way with a scientific system of compulsory military training, managed like the selective service was managed. And this is the message Congress should and most likely will receive from home.

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